THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS . . . AND THE . . . . TWENTY-SECOND . ARTICLE . . . .

BY
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The Invocation of Saints and the Twenty-second Article.

The Invocation of Saints and the Twenty-second Article.

An answer to the question: What is "the Romish doctrine concerning Invocation of Saints" referred to in the Twenty-second Article of Religion?

A LECTURE

DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE DIOCESAN BRANCH OF THE CENTRAL SOCIETY OF SACRED STUDY, MARCH 14, 1908,

BY

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PREFACE

In publishing this Lecture I think it right to state, generally, that it is not intended to supersede a study of the question "What is our possible or probable relation to the departed Saints?" and, in particular, that it is in no way framed to compete with my friend Mr. H. F. Stewart's very interesting book *Doctrina Romanensium de Invocatione Sanctorum*, published in 1907, to which I had the honour to contribute an Introduction. It deals with what is, in one respect, a subordinate aspect of the controversy, and one which is scarcely touched in that volume. In one sense it may be read as an appendix to Mr. Stewart's book, though it is, of course, an independent publication, and as complete as I can make it on the question to which it is an answer.

That question is, "What is *The Romish doctrine concerning . . . Invocation of Saints* which is described in the Twenty-second Article of Religion as *a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God*?" Is it the doctrine which may be inferred by conjecture from abuses which are evident to those who study the Romish practice?

Is it in particular (as some have recently proclaimed among us) a hypothetical doctrine that prayers may be rightly addressed to the Saints, as to God, asking for benefits to soul and body, for life and health and prosperity, as if the Saints were givers of such things? Or is it the actual doctrine of the Romish Church, with all that it implies—viz. that it is good and useful to make humble supplication to the Saints to intercede for us to God and to take refuge in their aid?

I have always supposed, with the majority of English Churchmen, that what was condemned was the Romish doctrine in its official form, and that the Article in fact forbade all use of direct Invocation of Saints. I had paid little attention to the arguments to the contrary, though of course generally cognizant of their existence, supposing that (sooner or later) they would be dropped by English Churchmen on account of their inherent weakness. But I have latterly become aware, in the discharge of my duties as a Bishop, and in more than one quarter, that there is a rather active and enthusiastic propaganda of the other opinion. The right to use hymns and forms of prayer directly appealing to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints, and to teach such practices to the young, is claimed more widely than I had supposed, and is defended as not forbidden in the Articles.

This experience has led me to examine the language of the Article and its historical setting more minutely than I had previously done, and to illustrate it by

such collateral studies of the literature of the period as time and ability permitted. In doing this I have had assistance from several learned friends, who will, I trust, accept a general instead of a particular acknowledgement of their kindness. For I am anxious not to introduce more of the element of personality into the controversy than is absolutely necessary, and to rest the result of the argument upon the merits of the case rather than upon any show of authority.

I am constrained to say that I have found the arguments in favour of the laxer interpretation of the Article even weaker than I had expected. They are, indeed, so weak that I have some hope that those who have hitherto used them will feel it necessary at least to shift their ground. For I have endeavoured to state their case as strongly as possible, and even in some measure to add to it, as e.g., by reference to Gropper's *Enchiridion*, with which they do not seem to have been acquainted. Further references might be added as to the distinction between requests for prayer and requests for gifts; and Bramhall's defence of "comprecation" (*Schism guarded*, sec. 10, *Works*, A. C. L. ii. 633), to which Newman refers in his *Apologia*, might be discussed. But this is really not the point. The question to be answered is, What is the sixteenth-century settlement to which we are, for the present at any rate, bound? What was the intention of Archbishop Parker and the Convocations of 1563 and 1571?

If my arguments succeed in convincing those who read these pages that the old-fashioned interpretation of the Twenty-second Article is historically the true one, may we not legitimately expect them to accept the position as a guide to their actual conduct? I trust that, for the sake both of consistency and peace, they will refrain from pressing their opinions in this matter any longer upon English Churchmen, and so prevent the controversy from becoming an occasion of open conflict within the Church of England. We have so many enemies without, and so much weakness of other kinds within, there is so sore a struggle against destructive error and deadly sin in which we must engage, that any one who provokes an internal conflict, on a matter not of revealed truth or manifest righteousness, does a very serious injury to the cause of God. But there is an even stronger reason to be considered. The Article speaks of the Romish doctrine as to Invocation of Saints (amongst other doctrines) as "grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God". The first half of this condemnation must, I think, be accepted as absolutely true. The second is, in my own opinion, also true. If I were asked what texts of Scripture (on this point) were particularly in the mind of those who framed the Article I should say they were the assertion by St. Paul that Jesus Christ is the one Mediator between God and man, and the others which refer to our Lord's unique and

all-sufficient advocacy and intercession (1 Tim. ii. 5 ; 1 John ii. 1, 2 ; Rom. viii. 34 ; Heb. ix. 15 ; St. John xvi. 23, 24, &c.). This is not only probable in itself but it is a fair inference from the passage of Hooper (1547) quoted, and those of Becon and Bradford referred to, on p. 32 note. Some of the first framers of the Article may also have thought of the first, second, and third Commandments of the Decalogue. But the danger of weakening practical belief in our Lord's mediatorial office was, I think, *the* point which weighed with our reformers then as it did with Melanchthon, and which weighs with most English Churchmen now. If, therefore, the upholders of this practice say that they do not press it as a duty, let them really cease to do so in loyal deference to the Article. But if they still continue to circulate books recommending it, and to inculcate the practice upon the young (who have little power of choice and judgement in regard to devotion), they must expect to be openly and individually rebuked, and to bear the reproach of being disturbers of the peace and work, as well as, in some degree, of the faith of the Church.

In conclusion, let me say that it has given me great satisfaction to discharge, through the delivery and publication of this Lecture, some part of my duty as President of the Central Society of Sacred Study and of the Church Historical Society. I have gained much by association with these two bodies, and I am glad to have an opportunity of acknowledging it. It

will be one of the incidental but very tangible benefits which we may expect to accrue to the Church from the gathering of Bishops this year at the first Pan-Anglican Congress and the fifth Lambeth Conference, if these societies, and perhaps especially the first, come to be recognized as deserving of extension throughout the whole breadth of our communion. Anglicanism, both on its positive and its negative side, needs to be expressed in as full and reasonable a form as is possible. It is not the whole of Christianity, but it is an important contribution to the whole ; and one main feature of it is the high ideal of personal study, and sober, responsible judgement, which our Church sets up for all its clergy. Societies like these make such an ideal possible by bringing distant students into contact with one another and with the best knowledge available throughout the country. Would not their extension to the furthest bounds of our communion bring the ideal even closer to reality ?

JOHN SARUM.

Easter, 1908.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I AM glad to learn that there is a demand for a second edition of this lecture because I feel, as strongly as I did in 1908, that the habit against which it is directed needs to be checked, and because I believe that the arguments of the lecture are generally sound. I am also not sorry to have an opportunity of drawing attention to some points in the controversy which has followed its publication,[1] and particularly to the alterations which Mr. Darwell Stone made in November, 1909, in the "new and enlarged edition" of his *Church Quarterly Review Essay*. He has withdrawn from the text the misleading reference to Hardwick, which has for some time been pressed unfairly into this controversy. I wish that he had simply confessed in the note to p. 46 that Hardwick treats "Romish" as "the party which prevailed at Trent." He has also given the reader an opportunity of judging how little Dr. Hort helps his case. Mr. Stone cites him to prove that when the article condemns "Romish" doctrine concerning a disputed point, it does not condemn the doctrine which prevailed at Trent. Dr. Hort merely says that it does not condemn his

[1] See my two articles in the London *Guardian* of May 28, and June 2, 1909, headed "Mr. Darwell Stone on the Invocation of Saints", Mr. Stone's reply on June 30, and my "Invocation of Saints: a reply to Mr. Darwell Stone" on July 21.

own, which is distinctly *not* Tridentine. I know that it is hard to part from old friends, by which I mean the arguments we have loved, but even in controversy it is sometimes wise to do so. Further I am glad to see that he quotes Dr. Pusey's "Advertisement" to his adaptation of the *Paradise of the Christian Soul,* in which he says that he has omitted all mention of the invocation of Saints, and gives his reason for so doing (p. 59). Mr. Stone has, of course, the right to add the other quotations from Dr. Pusey and Bishop A. P. Forbes which he gives on the following pages—quotations in which they take a somewhat different line. These two friends were, however, living in an atmosphere of high ecclesiastical reunion politics—the atmosphere of Cassander—when one of them wrote the Eirenicon and the other the Explanation of the XXXIX Articles. Dr. Pusey as the guide of souls expressed himself, I believe, more truly in the "Advertisement". I think if Mr. Stone were aware of the manner in which ignorant children are being drawn into the cultus of the Saints as a necessary part of religion he would not have lent the weight of his authority, even as far as he has done, to support the practice.

One argument of my lecture has been controverted more than any other, viz. the reference in sec. 5 to the decree of Trent *De Sacrificio Missae* passed September 17, 1562, and I feel bound to refer more particularly to it. I cited that Canon of Trent to

show that the official Romish doctrine (which might easily have been made known to members of our Convocation sitting in January and February, 1563) was that it is right to ask the Saints for their prayers, and was not (and never had been) right to ask them for other blessings which God alone can give. The reply made to this reference to the decree of 1562 was that the words "eorum patrocinia implorat" are a quotation from Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, iii. 83, 4 "quorum patrocinia implorat"), and those that follow ("ut ipsi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris") are practically taken from the *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas*, an offertory prayer in the "Ordo missae". It is now said daily after the Lavabo, though at one time it was clearly an occasional prayer. In my last paper in the *Guardian* (July 21, 1909) I confessed that I had not observed the reference to the *Suscipe*, and that it is one which must be taken into account in any interpretation of the Canon of Trent. The argument then of Mr. Stone and those who side with him is that the Canon of Trent of 1562 has nothing to do with the point in question between us, because it is defending the custom of the ancient Liturgies of asking God that the Saints may pray for us, and is not defending the custom of asking them for their prayers. To this I replied as follows:—

The Canon of Trent may therefore be correctly described as a sort of mosaic made up of words from St. Augustine and Aquinas (which I had before me) and the *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* (which

I had overlooked). On the other hand a compound sentence, however much it may be of a mosaic, means what its words mean in composition, not merely what the separate parts mean in their original context. Now it is an undoubted fact that the Masses in honour of Saints which are here defended—notably those in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul—included at that time and long before it, direct Invocation of those Saints. [I quoted some of the Gradual anthems, &c., addressed directly to St. Mary, St. Paul and St. Peter and some others, in the *Guardian* of June 2, 1909.] The Canon was clearly an apology for the honour done to the Saints in the Roman Communion; and in order to be an efficient apology it must have met the strongest part of the attack made upon that Church—not merely the weakest part. [I then referred to Melanchthon's words, guarding himself from criticizing the indirect language of the ancient Liturgies, quoted below, sec. 4, p. 33.] It appears to me therefore reasonable to suppose that the Canon of Trent [which refers to occasional rather than daily services in the words "nonnullas interdum missas celebrare consueverit"] was intended to cover the Invocations of the Graduals and Sequences, even while it used language drawn from one of the Collects of the *Ordo Missae*. In any case—and this is very important—it laid down an apologetic limit. It practically said, "In honouring the Saints, however much we do so in the Mass, we do not intend to give them the honour due to God alone, but only mean to secure their intercession to Him for us." [The Council] in this way imposed a limit upon itself in regard to the whole question, and prepared the ground for the line of defence and definition taken in the autumn of the next year, in a manner which must have been unmistakable to all engaged in these controversies.

When therefore Mr. Stone curtly sets aside Bishop Harold Browne's statement that to know what the "Doctrina Romanensium" is we must consult the decrees of the Council of Trent, and when he goes on to ask, "Since the article was so altered as not to express condemnation of the doctrine of the Schoolmen and could not because of its date have been written or accepted with the decree of the Council of Trent in view, what was the idea which the phrase 'Romish doctrine' was intended to

convey?" as if to imply "we must therefore seek for something else", I answer unhesitatingly as follows :—"Why should we seek for anything else?" The "Romish doctrine" is the doctrine of Aquinas which had now become the official Romish doctrine, and had ceased in any way to be exclusively "scholastic", a doctrine which everybody knew from the *Confutatio Pontificia* and Gardiner's articles for Cambridge (to name only two examples) was likely to be defined at Trent. There was no opposition in intention between "scholastic" and "Romish", but the former term was out of date, for "scholastic" had become "Romish". Bishop Harold Browne is in fact perfectly right, and he is in complete accord with Hardwick, in his reference to the decrees of Trent as actually embodying this official doctrine in the form most convenient for citation. It is unfortunate that Mr. Stone appears unable to see that documents of the years 1549–50, 1553, 1554, and 1555 have more bearing upon the meaning and feeling of Parker and his associates than the previous Henrician documents. But I am persuaded that this will not be the judgement of those who approach the subject without having previously taken a side in this controversy.

I then summarized my argument as to the importance of these nearer documents as bearing upon the sense to be given to the term "Invocation of Saints", which "according to all ordinary use of language means any request for aid addressed to unseen persons supposed to have power with God". As regards my own position I defined it generally with Bramhall in his *Epistle to M. de la Millitière* (*Works*, A. C. L. i. pp. 58–9) :—

We do sometimes meet in ancient authors with the intercession of Saints in general, which we also acknowledge; or an oblique invocation of them (as you term it)—that is a prayer directed to God that He will hear the intercession of the Saints for us, which we do not condemn; or a wish or a rhetorical

apostrophe, or perhaps something more in some single ancient author; but for an ordinary Invocation in particular necessities, and much more for public invocation in the Liturgies of the Church, we meet not with it in the first six hundred years or thereabouts; all which time, and afterwards also, the common principles and tradition of the Church were against it. So far were they from obtruding it as a necessary fundamental article of Christian religion.

I find also that my Lecture has called forth a special rejoinder from the Rev. George Bayfield Roberts, B.A., Vicar of Elmstone, published at the office of the English Church Union, 31 Russell Square, W.C., 1909. It is entitled *Are we disloyal? a reply to the Bishop of Salisbury's Lecture.* I presume the "we" does not imply the whole of the English Church Union, but only those members of it who agree with Mr. Roberts. But the place of publication suggests some uneasy reflections.

I have read this reply. It adds something to the quotations from sixteenth-century writers bearing upon the subject generally, and upon the use of the words "Romanensis", "Romish", and "Invocation", but nothing, I think, on these points that requires detailed examination here. It is perfectly easy to show, for instance, that "invocation" is used, as Melanchthon constantly used it (below p. 60 n.), of prayer to God, or as a synonym for prayer in general. But when it is used by men who, e. g. like Bradford, considered all prayer to Saints (whether for their prayers or for other blessings) to be contrary to the

honour of God, its use by them clearly is no evidence on Mr. Roberts's side of the argument. Melanchthon uses it of prayer to God, but, as I pointed out, he does so in distinction to the "invocatio hominum mortuorum", of which he rejected all kinds. What Mr. Roberts therefore needs is to find instances of a description of requests for prayer to the Saints as *not* being "invocation". The passage in the *Institution of a Christian Man* (cited by me in italics, below, p. 59) is, I think, a solitary instance of this in the writers of our Church in the sixteenth century, and Mr. Roberts cites nothing parallel to it.

The passage of the "German orators", quoted from Strype (pp. 12–13), is almost exactly in line with the Augsburg confession, though it goes a point further. It repudiates *invocation of Saints*; it admits that on account of old custom there should be *prayers made unto God* that it might like him to hear them by the intercession of some saints. Mr. Roberts ought to have noticed this. The use in the *Institution &c.* is really a transient one, and the gloss introduced into the *Necessary doctrine* in its place (whoever wrote it) seems reasonably to be explained as the substitution of a more familiar phrase for a somewhat unusual one. If, as may well be the case, the King introduced it, it was exactly the sort of correction which a man of the world would make who disliked a technicality to which objection might be taken. If you read the paragraph as it appears in the *Necessary*

doctrine you will have no reason to think that "invocation", as retained in the earlier part of the paragraph, is used in any limited or peculiar sense, but simply as equivalent to "prayer" or "request".

Other passages quoted by Mr. Roberts are instances of the habit which many Anglican authors have of illustrating Romish doctrine by exaggerations of Romish practice, and of sometimes pointing out the discrepancy between the comparatively moderate doctrine and the more dangerous practice. But it remains certain that the "Romish doctrine" is what is repudiated in the XXIInd Article of Religion.

As to the revision of 1571 being the one to which we subscribe, I feel sure that Mr. Roberts has not done justice to the argument (below, pp. 61–2). Those who subscribed for the first time in 1571 had no knowledge of the articles of 1563, which had never been presented to them. The revision and fuller authority which the articles now had made them a new document. There was no occasion to refer in terms to Trent. To have done so would have been to depart from the language usual to our Reformers.

There are many other subsidiary points where a reply to Mr. Roberts's arguments would be easy and pertinent, but I will not burden this preface with an enumeration of them. I will only note a fallacy on p. 34, because I think that others have been tempted to adopt it. He argues: "By condemning a particular doctrine 'concerning invocation' it is plainly

implied that there is a doctrine *of Invocation* which is not condemned. If I condemn 'the doctrine of Luther concerning Justification of Faith' I do not condemn the Pauline doctrine. On the contrary, I affirm by necessary implication that there is a true doctrine *of Justification*, which lies outside the pale of condemnation." Here the careful reader will notice that Mr. Roberts tacitly, and I presume unconsciously, substitutes "of" for "concerning" (de), in the words I have italicized, and thus persuades himself that the only antithesis to "the Romish doctrine concerning Invocation" must be some other doctrine "of Invocation". But if he had kept to the true wording, he would have seen that there may just as easily be an antithesis of contradiction as of partial likeness. Such an antithesis certainly exists between Romish doctrine and Melanchthon's doctrine, each of which is a "doctrine concerning Invocation of Saints", and our Reformers certainly preferred Melanchthon's to the Romish doctrine. Of course no inference as to the character of the antithesis *necessarily* flows from the words. But Mr. Roberts speaks unadvisedly of "necessary implication".

I would add that the "argumentum ad horribile", used by Mr. Roberts on p. 66, is really not in place in this discussion. Our reformers in 1563 certainly did not "sit in judgement" on the Greek Church, with which they were very imperfectly acquainted up to a much later date. They were dealing with

present opponents, the "Romanenses", especially in their own country. The question is what they thought of their teaching. I will say a few words in conclusion on some more material points.

Mr. Roberts appeals to the authority of certain of the great Fathers, especially the more rhetorical ones. But he does not add the obvious caution to be observed in dealing with their witness, that they had not the experience which we have of the result of such invocations as they began (often tentatively and inconsistently, and sometimes apologetically) to encourage. Nor does he refer to the change of attitude observable in the greatest of them, St. Augustine, as years went on and greater experience of the abuses connected with the "martyria" came to his knowledge. I have touched upon this point in the new edition of my book on *The Holy Communion*, pp. 235–7.

He has a curious argument that as the angels must have a knowledge of our state and condition, vouchsafed to them by God, in order to help us men, therefore the Saints possess equal knowledge (pp. 68–9). Of course the reply is obvious that the angels possess this knowledge because it is necessary for their function. There is no reason to think that the Saints possess it, unless we can prove that they have a similar function of "patronage" to perform. But that is the question in dispute. If we are entitled to argue dogmatically from Rev. vi. 9–11 it is to be presumed that the knowledge of the martyrs

at any rate is not continuous. If they are to "rest" it must be from the distraction of too intense sympathy.

There is indeed the glorious passage in the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews (verses 1 and 18–24) to which Mr. Roberts not unnaturally directs attention as implying this sympathy (pp. 69–73). But remember that these words were written in view of the Lord's predicted coming to judge Jerusalem. Would not He come attended by a glorious company of heavenly witnesses? Hebrew Churchmen were to be nerved to that supreme act of obedience which called them to surrender home and country, temple and city, friendship and patriotism, in order to follow their Master outside the gate, as He had bidden them while He was still on earth. It was not an ordinary event of Church life, but one where a revelation of the struggle of the Church on earth to the Saints above, and a parallel encouragement to the Church militant to look to the "innumerable company of angels" and "the spirits of just men made perfect" was in place if ever such intercourse between earth and heaven was possible. Yet even here there was no suggestion of personal appeal to "the great cloud of martyrs". The Church was described as "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith" (verse 2), and the climax of the vision is "Jesus the mediator of the new covenant and the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better

things than that of Abel" (verse 24). There is no talk of mediators of intercession who are to pave the way to, or to act in place of, the mediator of redemption. The access to His love is as open as it was to Stephen in the hour of martyrdom, and as it was to Saul on the road to Damascus.

If, therefore, Rev. vi. 9–11 is to be taken in connexion with Hebrews xii, we should be inclined to suppose that the communion of Saints with us, in knowledge of our state, is rather intermittent than continuous—God has not revealed to us whether this is certainly so or not. He has concealed from us much that we should like to know, undoubtedly because it is better for us to be ignorant. Therefore in framing theories about this communion of Saints we should take our ignorance to be His will, and adapt all our actions to that will. It is for this reason that indirect or oblique requests for intercession are held, as by Anglican theologians like Bramhall, to be much more justifiable than direct Invocation. For such requests, being addressed to God, carry with them the implied conditions that attach to all prayer to Him—"if it be Thy gracious will", "if this occasion is a fit one", "if I am worthy to be considered" and the like. I have also said something about this element in the ancient Liturgies in the new edition of my book on *The Holy Communion*, pp. 230 foll., and esp. 248–9.

As a last note I will mention a pamphlet, which is probably well known to Mr. Stone and Mr. Roberts,

but which I only happened to read a few weeks ago, *Why I left St. Michael's*, by Rev. H. M. M. Evans, B.A., Sands, London, 1903. The most interesting parts of this pamphlet are *Notes on Article XXII and the Invocation of Saints*, pp. 29–54, taking different lines of interpretation. I do not know who the writers were, but I think that their notes, and the opinions of the eminent counsel (C. A. Cripps and F. Mackarness) which follow, should be read by any one who is interested in this controversy.

I have not found it possible to revise the text of the Lecture except by here and there substituting a few words in square brackets for expressions which were open to misconstruction or had been shown by my critics not to represent their meaning and procedure with sufficient correctness.

JOHN SARUM.

West Lulworth,
St. James's Day, 25 *July*, 1910.

SUMMARY OF THE LECTURE

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1. The question is raised by current teaching in certain quarters, especially by the recommendation of the "Ave Maria", in its sixteenth-century form, ending: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners both now and at the hour of our death. Amen". 13

2. The "Ave Maria", with this conclusion, is unknown in the West before 1509, and was not so printed in any English Service-book before the Rouen Sarum Breviary of 1531. Apparently it was not used in England up to the last years of Henry VIII 14

3. The general argument by which this and the "Ora pro nobis" are justified does not, however, depend on the antiquity of the form. It is usually joined to a distinction between requests for prayer and requests for gifts. The thought appears already in Aquinas († 1274). The "Confutatio pontificia" of 1530 asserts that there may be many "mediators of intercession" though only one of redemption; and Latimer defended himself on this ground in 1533. Cp. Gropper's *Institutio* (1538) and the "Formularies of Faith" of the reign of Henry VIII (1536-43), which put forward the distinction between the two kinds of prayer. This distinction is also made by Cassander († 1566), and Bp. Wm. Forbes († 1634). There are, however, strong objections to any form of this devotion 18

4. There is an obvious difficulty in reconciling any practice of Invocation with the Twenty-second Article. Both the Schoolmen and the early Reformers and their opponents treat the doctrine and practice as a whole. Examples from Lombard and Aquinas; Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon; the "Augsburg Confession" and the "Confutatio ponti-

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ficia" (1530); and the "Apologia Confessionis" (1531). All invocations are abolished under Edward VI. Cp. 3 & 4 Ed. VI, c. 10, § 5, and the declaration of the imprisoned Edwardian Bishops and Divines (1554). Gardiner's Articles for Cambridge (1555) impose the doctrine in a very simple form 25

5. The doctrine of the Council of Trent in its Twenty-second Session (Sept. 1562) *De Sacrificio Missae*, c. 3, and its Twenty-fifth Session (Dec. 1563) *De Invocatione*, &c., is simply an affirmation of the previous tradition of the Roman Church as an article of faith 36

6. The Twenty-second Article of Religion (Jan., Feb., 1563) changes "Scholasticorum doctrina" of 1553 to "Doctrina Romanensium". The Articles were revised again in 1571, and after the revision the English form was imposed on the clergy, and is now binding 41

7. The words "Romanensium" and "Romish" are the same in meaning as "Romanist". Instances of their use. Jewel, Luther, Von Hutten, Calvin, Bp. Wm. Forbes use "Romanensis". "Romish" was probably German in origin; frequently used in England after 1542. The words were probably chosen by Abp. Parker as practically convenient and not "convitious" terms 44

8. Any reference to Schoolmen was out of date in 1563. The matter was now one of rival Confessions of faith . . 49

9. Archdeacon Hardwick (*Articles*, pp. 84, 130, 389, ed. 1859) interprets "Romish" as equivalent to Tridentine. Mr. Darwell Stone mistakenly implies the contrary (*Invocation of Saints*, pp. 37–9) 50

10. Position of those who hold that a limited invocation does not contravene the Article. Sancta Clara (1646), J. H. Newman (*Tract* 90, 1841), Bp. A. P. Forbes (1857), and [Provost] T. I. Ball (1877) distinguish Romish from primitive, &c., but take little or no account of the historical setting. Mr. Stone alone sees what ought to be proved . 55

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11. Mr. Stone refers to the distinction of the Henrician Formularies, but ignores the general course of the history. The distinction between requests for prayer and requests for gifts was merely part of a transient compromise. Difference between the *Institution*, &c., of 1537 and the *Necessary doctrine*, &c., of 1543 as to the use of the word "invocation". The English Church in 1563 was in conflict with the "Romish doctrine" expressed, e. g., by the "Confutatio pontificia," Gardiner's Articles of 1555 and possibly the Council of Trent *De Sacrificio Missae*, c. 3, of Sept. 1562, and not merely with abuses in practice. The revision of 1571 was in any case long posterior to the Trent decree *De Invocatione* of Dec. 1563, and must be held to refer to it 57

12. Conclusion. The clergy, having assented to the Twenty-second Article, cannot teach the use of the "Ave Maria" and the "Ora pro nobis", or use Hymns asking Saints for their intercessions. General considerations as to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles. Assent at least requires that we shall not contradict the Articles in our teaching or public practice 61

WHAT IS "THE ROMISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING INVOCATION OF SAINTS" REFERRED TO IN THE TWENTY-SECOND ARTICLE OF RELIGION?

1. The question is raised by current teaching in certain quarters, especially by the recommendation of the "Ave Maria," in its sixteenth-century form, ending: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners both now and at the hour of our death. Amen."

The growth of habitual teaching recommending certain forms of the Invocation of Saints in certain quarters within the Church of England is a somewhat startling feature of our modern Church life. Not to speak of a recent attempt to introduce the practice in the form of hymns, I have before me four or more publications in the form of tracts, apparently intended for distribution or wide circulation, one of which claims to be in its tenth thousand, in which the general principle is laid down without hesitation, and defended with argument, that it is right to ask the Saints to pray for us in terms of direct appeal to them for their intercessions. In particular, the devotion called *Ave Maria* or *Hail Mary* is recommended for use by English Churchmen in the full form in which

it began to be introduced into Breviaries in the Western Church in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. This consists, as is well known, of three parts: (1) the words of the Angel Gabriel, according to the Latin version: "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee"; (2) the words of St. Elizabeth: "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb," with the addition "Jesus"; (3) the request for prayer: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners both now and at the hour of our death. Amen."

2. The "Ave Maria", with this conclusion, is unknown in the West before 1509, and was not so printed in any English Service-book before the Rouen Sarum Breviary of 1531. Apparently it was not used in England up to the last years of Henry VIII.

As this is the devotion which teachers and writers of the class to which I have referred seem most anxious to introduce among us, and as there appears to be considerable ignorance on the subject of its antiquity and of the form in which it was used before the Reformation, I will state the main facts which I have been able to ascertain about it. According to Probst, a well-known liturgical writer, the first traces of this devotion (at any rate in the West) appear in the eleventh century.[1] It then consisted only of the first

[1] See his article (s. v. *Ave Maria*) in Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchen-Lexikon*, Freiburg in Br., 1882. The devotion, in its scriptural

two parts, the words of the Angel and of St. Elizabeth. It was introduced in this form for the first time into England in the thirteenth century (A. D. 1235).[1] It is in this form that St. Thomas Aquinas comments on it in the same way that he comments on other elements of Christian instruction and worship, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Faith

form, seems to have been previously in use in Syria and Egypt, though Probst does not say so. The "Ave Maria", in the scriptural form, Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη . . . τῆς κοιλίας σου, has been interpolated into two of the ancient Liturgies, those of St. James and St. Mark. It may be found on pp. 45 [in brackets] and 183 of C. E. Hammond's *Ancient Liturgies*, Oxford, 1878. It is, of course, not printed in F. E. Brightman's more accurate edition. Dr. Swainson has, it seems to me, explained how this interpolation arose (*The Greek Liturgies*, p. xxxvii, Cambridge, 1884). Very similar are the fragments, apparently of liturgical anthems, preserved on one of Mr. W. E. Crum's *Coptic Ostraca*, no. 518 (edited by Mr. Brightman), p. 3, London, 1902. They may be of the fifth or sixth century. The only instance with which I am acquainted of the introduction of a fuller form into a Liturgy, is in the *Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites* (*The Ethiopic Liturgy of the Apostles*) at the incense before the Gospel (ed. Brightman, p. 218). But the MSS. from which this Liturgy is printed seem to be all of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries (ib. p. 112). It appears as a set of versicles and responses :—

Hail, O Mary, full of grace,
The Lord is with thee.
Blessed art thou among women :
And blessed is the fruit of thy womb.
Pray and intercede for us with thy beloved Son,
That he forgive us our sins.

[1] See F. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, *Sarum Breviary*, fasc. 1, p. mdii.

and Sacraments, and the Apostles' Creed.[1] It is in this form that it appears in the earliest English primer known to us (circa A. D. 1400)[2]—such as may have been in the hands of the little Christian scholar of Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale.*

No other form was known in England, or at any rate circulated with any English authority, either in Primer or Breviary, up to the last years of Henry VIII. For although the full form was introduced into the great Rouen Sarum Breviary of 1531, from which Messrs. Procter and Wordsworth have taken their text, it is known that there was a prejudice on the part of the English booksellers, a few years later, against the service-books of this press. Petitions are extant, addressed to the Privy Council, on the part of the printer François Regnault, who offered to cancel or amend any pages in his books to which objection might be taken. What the issue of these petitions was is not, I think, known.[3]

In all the books put out by English authority in England in Henry's reign, the *Ave Maria* consists of the first two clauses, sometimes with, sometimes with-

[1] *Opera*, tom. viii, pp. 37-9, ed. Venice, 4to, 1775. The word "Jesus" is absent.

[2] Edited by Mr. H. Littlehales, p. 68, Longmans, 1891.

[3] See *State Papers* (*Domestic*), vol. xi, no. 1488, and vol. xii, pt. 2, no. 336 (12 Sep., 1538). There is a valuable book by the Rev. Edgar Hoskins, *Horae B.V.M. and Sarum and York Primers*, Lond., 1901, in which the contents of many of these books are described.

out "Jesus" or "Jesus Christ", and ends with "Amen" or "So be it". It is so in the *Three Primers*, and in the *Formularies of Faith*,[1] ranging from 1535 to 1545. In the latter documents, which have been appealed to for another purpose in this controversy, emphasis is laid on the fact that the "Ave Maria" is not a prayer or a petition. Erasmus also notes the fact that preachers lay stress upon the devotion, while nevertheless it is not a prayer.[2] I do not of course mean that other invocations requesting the intercessions of the Blessed Virgin and other Saints were absent from English prayer-books and Litanies, but that the special associations attached to the "Ave Maria" are of a different character.[3] It was accept-

[1] Viz., Marshall's, 1535; Hilsey's of Rochester, 1539; and King Henry's of 1545 (*Three Primers*, pp. 67, 329, 459, Oxford, 1834); *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), often called "the Bishops' Book", and *A necessary doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, of 1543, often called the King's Book (*Formularies of Faith*, pp. 208, 358, ed. C. Lloyd, Oxford, 1825).

[2] Erasmus, *De arte concionandi*, lib. 2, *Works*, vol. v, p. 873, Lugd. Bat., 1704.

[3] The prayer: "Interveniat pro nobis, Domine Iesu Christe, nunc et in hora mortis nostre apud tuam clementiam gloriosissima virgo Maria mater tua, cuius sacratissimam animam in hora passionis tue doloris gladius pertransivit" appears in a MS. book of Hours, circa A. D. 1400, of which a friend gives me information, and in subsequent editions. The thought is also found in the hymn *Memento salutis auctor* which contains the verse :—

"Maria plena gratiae,
Dulcis parens clementiae,
Tu nos ab hoste protege,
Et hora mortis suscipe."

able to Englishmen before the Reformation not as an invocation but as an act of honour to the Mother of the Lord, a sort of confession of faith in the Incarnation.

Nor indeed was it common in continental Breviaries at this date. Dom Bäumer, the latest historian of the Breviary, can find no instance of it earlier than 1509, when the full form was printed in a *Breviarium secundum consuetudinem romanae curiae* by Thielmann Kerver, at Paris.[1] It was shortly after introduced into the Breviaries of some of the religious orders. It was accepted in a sort of transition form, ending "ora pro nobis peccatoribus. Amen", by Cardinal Quignonez, in his reformed Breviary of 1535.[2] But it did not become part of the official Roman Breviary before the Pian revision of 1568, that is, after the Council of Trent.

3. The general argument by which this and the "Ora pro nobis" are justified does not, however, depend on the antiquity of the form. It is usually joined to a distinction between requests for prayer and requests for gifts. The thought appears already in Aquinas (†1274). The *Confutatio pontificia* (1530) asserts that there may be many "mediators of intercession" though only one of Redemption; and Latimer defended himself on this ground in 1533. Cp. Gropper's *Institutio* (1538) and the *Formularies of Faith* of the reign of Henry VIII (1536–43), which put forward the distinction between the two kinds of prayer. The distinction is also made by Cassander (†1566) and Bishop William

[1] See Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, ii. 201, Paris, 1905.
[2] Ibid., ii. 134.

Forbes (†1634). There are, however, serious objections to any form of this devotion.

The general argument, however, by which this and kindred devotions are justified by modern writers inside the Church of England is not much affected by the question of their antiquity. These writers rely rather upon the value to be attached to an increased realization of the communion of Saints, and press, very persistently, the analogy of the practice of requests for prayer addressed to the living, as when St. Paul writes to the Romans (xv. 30), "I beseech you, brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me," &c. They also, generally, lay stress on the distinction between requests for prayer addressed to the Saints, which they say are lawful and Catholic, and requests to them for gifts for body or soul, which they say are rejected in the Article as Romish and unlawful. In this distinction they claim to be following certain formularies of the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.

The genesis and history of the distinction propounded and recommended in these formularies is not very easy to trace. It appears in germ in Aquinas (below, p. 26), and it is formulated in a remark made by the authors of the Papal reply to the Confession of Augsburg (of which I shall speak later), that the Saints are mediators of intercession though not mediators of redemption. That was, of course, in

1530. I find Latimer, in 1533, defending himself against Dr. Powell for his sermons at Bristol by references to this double kind of mediation (*Works*, P. S. ii, pp. 233–4, cp. *Letter to Morice*, ib. p. 359). Latimer, when he became Bishop of Worcester, in 1535, naturally worked with Cranmer in the cautious reformation of abuses, and, though the reference to the two kinds of mediation was dropped, the conclusion that flowed from it, that the Saints might be asked to intercede for us, was retained during the period of compromise. That we may ask Saints for their prayers without directly asking them for blessings is substantially taught in both forms of the (*Ten*) *Articles* of 1536, in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, published by the Bishops in 1537, and in the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man*, of 1542,—all of which may be found in the volume called *Formularies of Faith*, published at Oxford, in 1825 (pp. xxix, 15, 141, 305). The same teaching may be found also in the *Institutio compendiaria doctrinae Christianae* or *Enchiridion*, drawn up by the remarkable jurist and theologian Johann Gropper, and published in 1538 by the famous Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, as an appendix to the canons of his reforming Council of 1536 (fols. 266–7).

The tradition was carried on by the learned and pious Romanist George Cassander (†1566)—a great advocate of and worker for reunion—in his *Consultatio*, written in one of the last years of his life, about

1565.[1] Amongst ourselves, the only prominent advocate for it until recent years was, if I am not mistaken, William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, in the reign of Charles I (†1634), who, in his somewhat confused and tentative treatment of the subject in his *Considerationes modestae*, seems decidedly to be on the same side. But we must remember that the Scottish Church did not accept the English Thirty-nine Articles until the year 1804, and that in connexion with the repeal of the penal laws under 32 Geo. III. c. 63. Others, like Bishop Andrewes, feeling, I believe, bound by the Twenty-second Article, and not sanctioning any form of invocation, go as far as to allow that if "prier pour prier", as he calls it, were all that the Romanists meant, there would be very much less to object to in their teaching.

Archbishop Ussher (in 1625) also recognizes the existence of the distinction in his *Answer to a Jesuit's*

[1] *Via ad pacem ecclesiasticam*, p. 138 foll., ed. Grotius, 1642. Grotius has some interesting remarks in the same volume, *ad art. XXI* (*Confessionis Augustanae*), pp. 310–14. George Witzel (Wicelius), the like-minded contemporary of Cassander (1501–73), in his *Via Regia* (1564), as reprinted by E. Browne, *Fasciculus rerum*, &c., ii. 718, simply accepts Melanchthon's words from the 1540 edition of the Augsburg Confession (*Confessio variata*, Part I, art. XXI, in C. A. Hase's, *Libri symbolici Ecclesiae Evangelicae*, ed. 2, p. lxxiii, Lips., 1837). For though Browne prints part in italics as text and part in Roman type as comment, the *whole* section is simply Melanchthon. In his *Methodus concordiae eccl.* (1537) he had said, the Catholics must not make Invocation an Article of faith, the Lutherans must not denounce it as impious.

Challenge (*Works*, ed. Elrington iii, 450, fol., &c.). On the other hand, Archbishop Laud in his *Conference with Fisher*, sect. xxxiii. 13, definitely repudiates the doctrine of Trent. "The pope teaches (he writes) . . . in and by the Council of Trent, Invocation of Saints and Adoration of Images, to the great scandal of Christianity and as great hazard of the weak."

I do not myself believe that the distinction is a stable one. I believe it would break down in practice amongst ourselves, as it has done elsewhere. Nor do I believe that the limited practice, as recommended, is a sound one in itself. Surely we are bound to say that "whatsoever is not of faith"—that is, matter of conviction, in regard to worship—"is sin". It is a very hazardous supposition that the requests made actually reach the persons to whom they are addressed. It is still more improbable that those holy persons have, or ever can grow to have, in whatever state of being, the extraordinary enlargement of intelligence and capacity which alone would enable them to apprehend the needs, and to interpret the desires, of myriads of simultaneous suppliants. To say that it does not matter whether they really hear us or not, and that it is a good thing to imagine that they do so, is surely to play with a most serious subject, and to weaken our whole conception of religious duty. Further, the effect of the practice on our own attitude towards God is almost certainly deleterious. Many have felt the danger of putting Him further away

from us, and of nourishing hard thoughts about Him. I would also remind you that the belief that it is an habitual religious duty, occupying a certain time and space in our devotions, as e. g. in the long Litany of "Ora pro nobis", or in daily addresses to the Blessed Virgin, to call for aid and succour upon one or many invisible beings, whom we know not to be God, is inevitably to substitute to some extent a lower for a higher form of worship. The parallel between such devotions and requests made for prayer to our Christian friends is a very imperfect and misleading one.[1] We are in personal touch with our friends, we can measure their limitations, and we are not at all tempted to attribute to them transcendent merit or the attribute of omnipresence, and that approach to omniscience,

[1] Mr. H. F. Stewart's words on this point are worth quoting (*Doctrina Romanensium*, p. 104, S.P.C.K., 1907): "We ask our friends to pray for us because often they know us better than we do ourselves, and they can interpret and convey our needs. But we have no certain knowledge that the blessed dead are acquainted with our present needs, and it is a misdirection of our powers to seek for help where we are not sure of finding it." I would also add that our friends can criticize our requests, and tell us when we are asking for something dangerous or unworthy. A certain modesty and shame prevents us from revealing to them any unworthy desires. There seems to be (practically) much less check on the requests made to Saints, which are sometimes for trivial, sometimes for improper, objects, such as revenge. These requests come in practice to be very like the requests made to the inferior deities of paganism, secondary requests addressed to secondary powers. If a thing is wrong or trivial we ought not to ask a Saint to pray for it, but the tendency is to be much more lax in this kind of prayer.

which the cultus of the Saints seems to all, who are unacquainted with subtle theological distinctions, to imply. Religious requests, made as matters of religious duty, and with all the accidents of religious veneration, addressed to an unseen power or powers, on whose boundless influence we rely, while yet we recognize that they are not God, approach in many cases very near to idolatry. By "in many cases" I mean those of unlettered people, to whom such devotions are most congenial and attractive. Lastly, though there is much more to say on the subject, e. g. as to who are the Saints, I cannot but hold that Melanchthon was right when he wrote that the practice "without doubt obscures the glory of Christ". He reminds us that we are bidden to go to Him as our mediator, that God promises to hear and grant all the prayers that are made through Him. But as regards the Saints we have no precepts, no promises, no precedents of this kind in Holy Scripture.[1]

It is not, however, my main object to discuss the dogmatic or the practical side of the Invocation of Saints. I have to perform a humbler, but still a very necessary, duty, which devolves on me as an overseer of the teaching of a body of clergy—I have to ask, and I will ask you patiently to study with me, how

[1] See the passage in the *Confessio variata* of 1540, printed by C. A. Hase in the introduction to his *Libri symbolici ecclesiae Evangelicae*, ed. 2, p. xxviii, Lips. 1837.

far the recommendation of any form of this Invocation contravenes the Twenty-second Article of Religion to which we all have assented and subscribed. What course of action in this matter does such an acceptance of the Article, in its plain and literal meaning, involve?

4. There is an obvious difficulty in reconciling any practice of Invocation with the Twenty-second Article. Both the Schoolmen, and the early Reformers and their opponents treat the doctrine and practice as a whole. Examples from Lombard and Aquinas; Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon; the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Confutatio pontificia* (1530); and the "Apologia Confessionis" (1531). All invocations are abolished under Edward VI. Cp. 3 & 4 Ed. VI, c. 10, § 5, and the declaration of the imprisoned Edwardian Bishops and Divines (1554). Gardiner's Articles for Cambridge (1555) impose the doctrine in a very simple form.

Those who recommend requests for intercession addressed to the Saints of course assert that they do not contravene the Twenty-second Article. But while doing so they admit that the lawfulness and usefulness of such Invocation is all that the official Roman doctrine asserts, and that it is "Romish doctrine", and not the abuses of Romish practice, which the Article rejects. They must also be aware that this type of doctrine is not modern. Two of the most conspicuous schoolmen, Peter Lombard and Aquinas, have a doctrine only distinguishable from that of Trent by its greater insistence on merit. Lombard says, "We pray that the Saints will intercede for us, that is, that

their merits may plead (suffragentur) for us, because what they will God wills (quia eis volentibus Deus vult) and so it will be" (*Sent.* iv, *dist.* 45 *ad finem*). Aquinas teaches that we pray to God alone for blessings of grace and glory which He alone can give, but to saints and angels "that by their prayers and merits our prayers may gain effect" (*Summa*, II. 2, *qu.* 83, 4; cf. *Suppl. ad pt.* III, *qu.* 72, sqq.). All sorts of practices indeed grew up, some of them finding expression in the rhetorical language of the Breviary hymns, and in the sermons and popular teaching of theologians, who, like St. Bernard, have given currency to some very unfortunate expressions, but the official doctrine remained a simple one. It positively inculcated the usefulness of appeals to the Saints for their prayers and left the matter further undefined.

That this was so, appears manifestly in the early controversies of the sixteenth century. I cannot find any trace—except those already referred to—of a discussion between the two great parties whether Invocation of Saints was or was not to be limited to requests for prayer. Latimer in his transitional period, the Henrician Bishops, Gropper and Cassander on the continent, made rather isolated attempts at a compromise, but apart from the great debate which was going on around them. The compromise was neither acceptable to the Roman leaders nor was it promoted by the great reformers. I have done my best to ascertain the opinions of three representative

men, Erasmus, Luther, and Melanchthon ; and all treat the doctrine as a whole, each of them in his own characteristic fashion. I should have supposed *a priori* that the distinction was one which would have suited the temper of Erasmus, but it does not seem to have occurred to him. What they say is as follows :—

Erasmus, when in his soberest vein, recommends that prayer should be made to God alone. This is the safer way. There is (he says) no example in the Old or the New Testament of requests made to the Saints departed. This is in his comment on the Thirty-third Psalm (*Works*, vol. v, pp. 385–6). In his *modus orandi Deum* he has a long and balanced argument—though not to my mind at all a deep one—in favour of a toleration of the practice of Invocation. In this letter he tells us that he was more tolerant even of abuses, which he despised and satirized, such as kissing the shoe and adoring the pocket-handkerchief of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than his friend Colet was. "Mihi ferenda videbatur (he writes) donec se daret opportunitas ea citra tumultum corrigendi" (ib. 1116–21). He exhibits the same double feeling on the subject in two of his *Colloquies*, of which a much enlarged edition was published by him in 1526. One of these, the *Pietas puerilis*, somewhat patronizingly commends a good schoolboy who invokes habitually St. Mary and certain appropriate Saints. Another—the *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*—ridicules with considerable coarseness, and even profanity, such abuses as went on in Eng-

land at Walsingham and Canterbury, and in other countries. I can nowhere find that Erasmus had thought of the distinction between requests for prayer and requests for gifts addressed to Saints. The distinction, except so far as Aquinas anticipated it, was not, as far as I can ascertain, suggested until a later date.

Luther, in the early part of his career as a reformer, was tolerant, like Erasmus, of requests made to the Saints even for corporal blessings, while he ridiculed the assignment of certain departments of life and its needs to certain persons, and desired to see the requests turned into more spiritual channels. This is the purport of a letter written to his intimate friend, George Spalatinus (1484–1545), in the year 1518, which a recent English writer quotes apparently without any conception that it does not represent his mature judgement,[1] just as he and another writer quote Latimer's words of 1533 as if they conveyed the sentiments of the Latimer who suffered in Queen Mary's reign. In 1527 Luther wrote, during the

[1] Luther writes to Spalatinus: "Non fuit mens mea unquam venerationem sanctorum esse superstitiosam, neque invocationes eorundem pro causis vel corporalissimis. Hoc enim sapiunt heritici illi vicini nostri Pighardi in Boemia." There is a tone of banter in this letter which shows that his mind was working towards a stronger censure of the practice. The letter may be found in Luther's *Epistolae* i, fol. 130–1, published at Jena in small 4to, A.D. 1556. Mr. Eustace Jesse quotes some sentences of this letter in his *Purgatory, Pardons*, &c., p. 201, 1900, without any reference, and with several extraordinary mistakes as to Spalatinus' life.

plague at Wittenberg: "We are not alone here; but Christ, and your prayers, and the prayers of all the saints together with the holy angels are with us" (Köstlin *Luther*, E.T. p. 304). In 1529 he put out his *Larger Catechism*, in which he treats invocations of Saints as things of the past.[1] His final judgement was vehement and passionate, and may be found in the following from the *Smalcaldic Articles* of 1537:—"The invocation of Saints is also a part of the abuses and errors of Antichrist, repugnant to the first principal Article (i.e. of justification by faith in Christ) and destroying the recognition of Christ (delens agnitionem Christi). Nor again is it commanded, nor does it rest on the advice or example or testimony of Scripture. All things are offered us better and more certainly in Christ, so that we

[1] Some of the sentences of the *Catechismus maior*, on the second (our third) commandment, may be quoted as showing Luther's mind in a transition state. The text is from Hase, *Lib. Symb.*, p. 422, § 74: "Praeterea puerorum illud exercitium, ut sese cruce vel precatiuncula muniant, audita re aliqua terrifica et horribili dicentes: Custodiat nos Deus Pater, Auxiliare Domine Iesu Christe, aut tale quidpiam. Ita quoque, si cui praeter spem aliquid boni contigerit, quantulumcunque tandem sit, ut dicet: Deo sit laus et gratia cuius munificentia hoc mihi obtigit, etc. Quemadmodum quondam pueri parentum monitu consueverunt Divum Nicolaum et ieiunio honorare et precibus invocare. Haec, inquam, si fierent, Deo multo essent gratiora et acceptiora, quam ulla vita monastica, aut fucata Carthusianorum sanctimonia." The invocation of St. Nicholas by children is not here expressly condemned, but it is used as an illustration of a practice which belonged to a previous period (quondam).

do not need the invocation of Saints, even if it were a valuable thing, when it really is a thing most pernicious." [1]

Melanchthon's whole tone is quieter, surer, and more persuasive, both in the "Confession of Augsburg" drawn up by him in 1530, and in the discussions which followed, as well as in his own mature work the *Loci theologici.*

The teaching of the Confession of Augsburg was signed by the leading Protestant princes and accepted by the evangelical theologians assembled in that city on June 25, 1530. The twenty-first article of its first part is as follows.[2] It asserts that the memory of the Saints may be proposed for imitation. "But (it continues) Scripture does not teach us to invoke the Saints or seek aid (auxilium) from them: because it proposes to us Christ as the one Mediator, propitia-

[1] "Maxime perniciosa." This very probably contributed the adverb, "perniciose contradicit," to our Article of 1553. In a later part of this section Luther expresses his opinion that, if the idolatrous cultus of the saints were abolished, the other veneration of them would be practically harmless and soon fall into oblivion. "Hic ergo idololatricus cultus de Angelis et defunctis Sanctis si sublatus fuerit, reliqua veneratio periculo carebit et cito oblivioni tradetur. Ubi enim spes commodi et subsidii corporalis et spiritualis adempta fuerit, ibi cultus Sanctorum facile evanescet," &c. The article, *De Invocatione Sanctorum*, is a sort of appendix to Part II, art. ii, *De Missa* (Hase, l. c., pp. 310–11).

[2] I have used C. A. Hase's excellent book, cited p. 24 note, for all the documents connected with this Confession, the Smalcaldic Articles, &c. The article in question is on p. 19.

tion, High-priest, and intercessor. He is to be invoked and He has promised that He will hear our prayers, and (Scripture) especially approves this worship (cultum), namely, that He should be invoked in all afflictions. 1 John ii. 1: *If any one sin we have an advocate with the Father*, &c."

This statement assumes the Evangelical position to be a rejection of the whole system of invocation and saintly mediation. It set the tone for the whole succeeding discussion. What the reforming party aim at henceforth is the extinction of the whole practice as unscriptural and as injurious to faith in the mediation of Christ. The Romish party, taking the same ground, henceforth contend that invocation of Saints is not unscriptural and not so injurious. This is clear from the official *Confutation* of the Confession of Augsburg read in the Imperial Diet of the same year (August 3, 1530),[1] and from other later documents put forth by the Roman party.

The *Confutatio pontificia* (Hase, p. lxiii, foll.) has a long reply to the twenty-first Article of the Confession, in which the whole argument turns on the lawfulness of requests for intercession. The argument from Scripture is met by the usual passages, especially Baruch iii. 4 ("O Lord Almighty . . . hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites", which probably means those dead in captivity), 2 Macc. xv. 12–16 (the

[1] See Hase l. c., p. lxi, for the date and circumstances, and p. lxxiii for the text of this reply.

dream of Judas Maccabeus about Onias and Jeremiah), Zechariah i. 12 (the prayer of the Angel of the Lord), and Apoc. v. 8 and vi. 9, 10. I need not point out in passing what a weak case this is. The most interesting independent argument is the suggestion, to which I have already referred in Section 3, that although there is only one Mediator of redemption, there may be many mediators of intercession, a point afterwards met by Calvin in his *Institutes* (published in 1536), and amongst ourselves by Bishop Hooper in 1547,[1] as well as by Bradford and Becon.

[1] Calvin writes, *Institutes*, iii. 20, § 20 "Porro merum est nugamentum quod balbutiunt Sophistae, Christum esse *redemptionis* Mediatorem, fideles autem *intercessionis*." Hooper (*A Declaration of Christ and His Office*, P. S. i. p. 35, 1843), writes more sharply: "What intolerable ill, blasphemy of God, and ethnical idolatry is this, to admit and teach the invocation of Saints departed out of this world! It taketh from God his true honour: it maketh him a fool, that only hath ordained only Christ to be Mediator between man and him. It diminisheth the merits of Christ: taketh from the law of God her perfection and majesty; whereas God hath opened his will and pleasure unto the world in all things. It condemneth the old church of the patriarchs and prophets, likewise the church of the apostles and martyrs, that never taught the invocation of saints . . . If the men that teach *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis* be more holy than all the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, let the conscience of the christian reader judge. This distinction of mediators to be, one of expiation for sin—Christ, and another of intercession—the saints departed, is naught; it repugneth the manifest text of scripture." Cp. Bradford *Confutation*, &c., P. S. ii. 270, 281, 294; and Becon's *Catechism*, P.S. ii. p. 380, and *Commonplaces of Holy Scripture*, ib. iii. p. 291, in which the texts as to Christ's mediation are cited.

Melanchthon's *Apologia Confessionis* was drafted and presented to the Emperor in September of the same year (1530), and published, with the first edition of the Confession, but in a fuller form, in 1531. The word "Invocation" is used throughout in the same sense in the ninth Article of this Apology. The following sentence gives a concise summary of his argument: "The mention of Saints, such as is made in the old collects, seems in the beginning to have been introduced with a defensible purpose (tolerabili consilio). Afterwards Invocation followed; monstrous and more than heathen abuses followed Invocation. From Invocation progress was made to Images. These also were worshipped and a certain power was supposed to be inherent in them, as the magicians feign that a power is inherent in the images of the celestial bodies fashioned at a certain time." He then goes on to speak of an automatic picture or statue of the Blessed Virgin, and of the fabulous legends about the Saints.

It was this general perception of both parties that the whole system was of one piece, and that all its parts must stand or fall together, which led the reforming party in this country under Edward VI to let drop the half-measures of Henry VIII's reign, and to abolish all invocations of Saints both in the public services of the Church and in the Primers put out as models for private prayer. I need not trouble you with the details, which are perfectly easy of access,

only reminding you that the Primers of Henry VIII's reign were only allowed to be circulated on condition of the deletion of the few invocations of the form "Ora pro nobis" that still remained. This is provided in the Act of 3 & 4 Edward VI, c. 10, § 5 (A. D. 1549–50), which is still on the Statute Book. It shows, without doubt, the sense in which the word "Invocation" was then used: "Provided always . . . that any person or persons may use, keep, have and retain any primers in the English or Latin tongue set forth by the late King of famous memory King Henry VIII; so that the sentences of invocation or prayer to Saints in the same primers be blotted or clearly put out of the same."

It will not, I think, be contended that the Edwardian Article of 1553—three years later—was intended to cover the lawfulness of the addresses to the Saints adjudged to be lawful by the Henrician Formularies and consequently retained in the Henrician Primers—all of which were now blotted out. The Article was surely an approving comment on the action of Parliament, not a contradiction of it.

What the opinion of the Edwardian Bishops and divines on this subject was is further expressed in a *Declaration concerning Religion*, put out by Bishops Ferrar and Hooper and nine other prisoners (May 8, 1554), and also signed by Coverdale. It may be found in the works of Bradford (P. S. i. 367–74) by whom it was drafted. The section which concerns us

runs as follows:—"Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Jesus Christ is to be prayed unto and called upon. And therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to Saints departed this life" (*ib.* p. 372). There is a similar authoritative document of the next year (1555), which shows how simple the doctrine was on which the Romish party thought it necessary to insist. This is Bishop Stephen Gardiner's Articles which he imposed as Chancellor on the University of Cambridge. They were to be signed by every supplicant for a degree and by every graduate before he exercised his franchise in the Congregation of the University. The eleventh runs as follows:—"We confess and acknowledge that we can conscientiously (pie) venerate and ought to venerate the Saints who dwell (agentes) with Christ, and to invoke them to pray for us, and that our prayers and vows are heard (percipi) by them, and that we are helped by their prayers" (Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, i. 196, ed. 1844). Fifty-one persons, we are told, signed these Articles and nearly 120 refused. Amongst the latter must have been many intimate friends of Archbishop Parker's, who had quite lately been deprived of his Mastership of Corpus Christi College.

Bearing these facts in mind we are in a position to consider the teaching of the Council of Trent and its relation to our own formulary.

5. The doctrine of the Council of Trent in its twenty-second session (September, 1562), *De Sacrificio Missae*, c. 3, and its twenty-fifth session (December, 1563), *De Invocatione*, &c., is simply an affirmation of the previous tradition of the Roman Church as an article of faith.

In dealing with the subject of the Invocation of Saints the Council of Trent simply affirms the scholastic tradition (without direct reference to the doctrine of merit), and is in continuous line with the German *Confutatio pontificia* and with Bishop Gardiner's Articles of 1555. We must remember that this Council began to sit in December, 1545, the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII, and went on at intervals to December, 1563, in the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth. All this time it was watching the movements of contemporary controversy throughout Europe, and its action was everywhere watched with equal interest, not least in England. We have not the smallest reason to think *a priori* that it would make a new departure on such a subject, nor do we find that it did so.

It dealt with the subject in two of its sessions, one held before and one after the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles in 1563.

The first decree was part of its [*Doctrina*] *de Sacrificio Missae* (c. iii), which it [adopted], after some deliberation, on September 17, 1562. The chapter in question runs as follows[1]:—

[1] Cap. III. *De missa in honorem sanctorum.*

"Et quamvis in honorem et memoriam sanctorum nonnullas

CAP. III. *Of the mass in honour of the Saints.*

"And although the Church has been accustomed to celebrate from time to time a certain number of masses in honour and memory of the Saints, yet it does not teach that the sacrifice is offered to them, but to God alone who has crowned them: for which cause the priest is not accustomed to say 'I offer thee the sacrifice, O Peter, or O Paul', but, thanking God for their victories, he implores their patronage (patrocinia), that they may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memorial we make on earth."

The words "that they may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memorial we make on earth" were substituted for the words "and exhorts all to imitate them" (omnesque ad eorum imitationem cohortatur), which appeared in the first draft proposed for examination on September 7.[1]

There is no hint of discussion of the text of this decree in the minutes printed by Theiner, except that Panormitanus wished it to read "*Beate* Petre et *beate*

interdum Missas Ecclesia celebrare consueverit; non tamen illis sacrificium offerri docet, sed Deo soli qui illos coronavit: unde nec sacerdos dicere solet Offero tibi sacrificium Petre, vel Paule; sed, Deo de illorum victoriis gratias agens, eorum patrocinia implorat, ut ipsi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris." The words "Offero tibi sacrificium Petre vel Paule" refer to St. Augustine, [*De civ. Dei* viii. 27 and] *Contra Faustum*, xx. 21. [See above, pp. ii–v.]

[1] See A. Theiner, *Acta genuina Conc. Trident.* t. ii, p. 117 fol.; Zagrabiae (Agram) [1874]. Cp. p. 130 for September 17.

Paule". Probably some one reminded him that the words were a quotation from St. Augustine, and the proposal dropped. In any case it would seem that the chapter expressed all that the Council, after deliberation, wished to say on the subject.

This, you will observe, was three months *before* Archbishop Parker introduced the subject in January, 1563, into our Convocation. The Convocation closed its deliberations in the spring. The Council sat again in the summer, and at its twenty-fifth and last session, on December 3, it took up most of the questions touched in the twenty-second Article—Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, veneration of Saints, relics, and images, and on December 4 that of indulgences. I will only quote the words referring to the Invocation of Saints, which alone concern us here, noting, however, that according to Theiner's minutes there was no discussion whatever of the decrees *De Purgatorio* and *De Invocatione*, &c. Only two Bishops spoke (Montis Marani and Guadicensis), who complained of want of time and of hurry; all the rest simply replied "Placet" (Theiner, l. c., pp. 502–3). It will be seen that the passage somewhat amplifies what had been passed in the previous decree *De Sacrificio Missae*, but goes very little beyond it. What is missing, however, is any assertion that this was to be the limit of teaching or practice.

The decree begins by ordering bishops and other teachers diligently to instruct the faithful "that the

saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers for men to God, that it is good and useful humbly (suppliciter) to invoke them, and to have recourse for safety (confugere) to their prayers, help, and assistance, in order to attain benefits (ob beneficia impetranda) from God through His Son Jesus Christ, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour; but that those who deny that Saints, enjoying eternal felicity in heaven, are to be invoked, or who assert that they do not pray for men, or that to invoke them that they may pray for us even individually is idolatry, or that it is repugnant to the word of God (pugnare cum verbo Dei) and is opposed to the honour of the one mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ, or that it is foolish to make vocal or mental supplication to those who reign in heaven, are impious minded (impie sentire)." [1]

[1] "*De Invocatione*, &c. Mandat sancta Synodus omnibus Episcopis, et ceteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut iuxta Catholicae et Apostolicae Ecclesiae usum, a primaevis Christianae religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque Patrum consensionem, et sacrorum Conciliorum decreta, in primis de Sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, reliquiarum honore, et legitimo imaginum usu, fideles diligenter instruant, docentes eos, Sanctos, una cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre; bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare; et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugere: illos vero, qui negant sanctos, aeterna felicitate in caelo fruentes, invocandos esse; aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare; vel eorum, ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent, invocationem esse idololatriam; vel pugnare cum verbo Dei,

The decree then goes on to speak of the other topics referred to in the title, and in its last portion gives some cautions against abuse and superstition, both in regard to the Invocation of Saints and to the veneration of images and relics. But that in regard to Invocation is only of the most general, and therefore quite ineffective, character.

Any one who reads this decree ought to note that the word "invocation" is used in it only of asking the Saints for their intercessions, and not of direct requests to them for gifts of health of body or soul, or any benefits such as we ask from God. Nor is there any reference to their merits such as appears in the schoolmen and in the "Canon of the Mass", unless it be in the phrase "ad eorum auxilium confugere". On the other hand, there seems to be a reference to our Article in the phrase "vel pugnare cum verbo Dei", intended to controvert its assertion "immo verbo Dei contradicit" = "but rather (is) repugnant to the word of God", which probably rests on the texts as to the mediation of Christ. For this point of contradiction to Scripture is not so distinctly made in other anti-Roman Confessions (Protestant or Reformed) of this period. It is also possible that the general sentence of Trent, "docentes . . . bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare," is a reply to the words of the

adversarique honori unius mediatoris Dei et hominum Iesu Christi ; vel stultum esse, in caelo regnantibus voce, vel mente supplicare ; impie sentire."

Article, "Doctrina Romanensium . . . de invocatione sanctorum res est futilis inaniter conficta," which will be quoted in the next section. On the other hand, the actual form of the words "is opposed to the honour of the one Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ", is more like a contradiction to one of Melanchthon's later editions of the Confession of Augsburg, already referred to, where he says, "hic mos . . . tribuit item mortuis officium Mediatoris Christi; et haud dubie obscurat gloriam Christi."[1]

6. The Twenty-second Article of Religion (January, February, 1563) changes "Scholasticorum doctrina" of 1553 to "Doctrina Romanensium". The Articles were revised again in 1571, and after the revision the English form was imposed on the clergy and is now binding.

The Twenty-second Article of 1563 runs in the Latin, which was then the only official form, as follows. The words in *italics* represent the variations of the text from the Edwardian Twenty-third Article of 1553.

"De Purgatorio

Doctrina Romanensium de purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione tum imaginum tum reliquiarum, nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur, immo verbo Dei *contradicit*."

The Edwardian Article had in place of the words in italics *Scholasticorum doctrina* = "The doctrine of

[1] See above, sec. 3, p. 24, and Hase, l. c., p. xxviii.

Scholeaucthores". In the last clause the adverb *perniciose* was not rendered in 1553 into English, and was omitted also from the Latin in 1563. The Latin word is perhaps taken from Luther's Smalcaldic Articles of 1537, quoted already in Section 4. It is noticeable that our Article follows, more or less, the order of the Smalcaldic Articles in the enumeration of the controverted doctrines, though Luther's formulary omits any reference to images.

The English version, to which alone our clergy now subscribe, was not made official till the year 1571. It is of course based on the earlier versions of 1553 and 1563. It differs slightly from that of 1563 in the substitution of *vainly invented* for *vainly fayned* (which was also the phrase of 1553). The importance of this slight correction lies in its being an evidence, additional to those which will be presently noticed, that the revision of 1571 was a minute and careful one. This was the year in which the Articles, as we have them, became the settled formulary on certain points of Religion of the Church of England. Not only were they read and subscribed by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the Clergy of the Lower House, but they were approved by the assent and consent of the Queen, as a book "to be holden and executed within this Realme". Nothing, indeed, is said as to York, and it is difficult to learn what part the Convocation of that Province took in the matter. In the same year the clergy of the

Church of England were required by Act of Parliament (13 Eliz., c. 12) to subscribe to the Articles, an Act which in substance is still in force, though the form of subscription has been changed.

It is to be noticed that the book of Articles as printed in our Prayer-books still has, as part of its heading, the date 1562 (i. e. January and February, 1563), and that Parliament quotes this title in the Statute. Nevertheless it is clear that the Convocation did revise the book of 1563 in two important points and in a number of other less important ones, one of which has been already noticed. The two important points in which revision appears are the definite insertion (1) of the disputed clause in Article XX, that the Church hath "authority in controversies of faith", and (2) of the whole of Article XXIX, *Of the wicked which do not eat*, &c. Both of these are absent from some, apparently authoritative, documents of 1563: but, as Hardwick says, they are "found in all the English copies of 1571 which have the slightest claim to be regarded as authentic"—the twenty-ninth Article being found also in all Latin copies (*Articles*, p. 157, ed. 1859). A number of other slight changes are mentioned by Hardwick, which are described by him on p. 158, and may be discerned by a careful collation of the columns of his Appendix III. In the very next Article there is a somewhat significant alteration of the English title to the words *Of ministering in the Congregation*. Mr. W. H. Frere's *Church*

History (1558–1625) may also be conveniently consulted on this version (p. 163, Macmillans, 1904).

We have therefore to remember the following facts: that the Article in question was (1) propounded in substance in 1553 as a document of authority; (2) that it was revised in 1563 in two points, the first one of some importance; (3) that it was revised again in 1571, as regards the English version, in a comparatively small point, but was otherwise unrevised; (4) that the English version was in that year made the official standard.

It will be convenient to discuss first the words of the Article in which the doctrine referred to is defined, and then to consider what was the substance of the doctrine aimed at. Two questions naturally arise as to the wording, (1) What does "Romanensium" or "Romish" mean? (2) Why was the phrase substituted for the previous reference to the Schoolmen?

7. The words "Romanensium" and "Romish" are the same in meaning as "Romanist". Instances of their use. Jewel, Luther, Von Hutten, Calvin, Bp. William Forbes use "Romanensis". "Romish" probably German in origin; frequently used in England after 1542. They were probably chosen by Archbishop Parker as practically convenient and not "convitious" terms.

The word "Romanensis" only occurs in this place in the Articles, and [the only parallel quoted from an English writer is a phrase in Jewel's *Apologia* (Romanensium episcoporum, vi. 23, 1)]. According to Hardwick "the words 'Romanensis' and 'Roma-

nistae' were already used as far back as 1520 by Luther and Ulrich von Hutten to designate the extreme mediaeval party" (*Articles*, p. 389). Hardwick (curiously enough) gives no exact references on this point, but I find "Romanenses" in Luther's famous treatise of the year 1520, *On the Babylonish Captivity* (*de Matrimonio*, t. ii. fol. 280 b, ed. Jena, 1581).[1] He seems to use it just in the sense in which we use "Romanists" to-day, of the party which adopts the Roman point of view without being in any special sense locally[2] Roman, or as we often say, "the Ultramontane party." So does Calvin in his *Institutes*, iv. 19. 15, in a passage quoted below.

As regards the word "Romish", this also I imagine came from the continent, and probably from Germany. It often meets us in pamphlets printed abroad. One of the first to bring it into common use was a rather famous pamphlet of Dr. William Turner, pub-

[1] [Mr. Stone refers also to Luther, *Letters* 2184 (of Popes) and 240, 243, 257 (of an extreme party) and to Ulrich, *Letter* 200.]

[2] As to the analogy of the Latin language in regard to such forms, see Casaubon's note on "Hispaniensis" in the first chapter of the *Life of Hadrian* in the *Augustan History*. The historian tells us that the family of which Hadrian was a member was originally Picentine, but that his immediate ancestors were "Hispanienses", i.e. Spain was their adopted country. Tertullian, however, *de praescr.* 16, uses "Romanensis ecclesia" of the local Roman church. Canon Dixon has recently introduced the word "Romanensian" into his history as a convenient term for the party which opposed the reformation in England, and his use has been adopted by Dr. B. J. Kidd. But Dr. Murray informs me that no Elizabethan authority has been produced for it in the collection made for the Oxford English Dictionary.

lished by him during his long exile in the reign of Henry VIII, most of which was spent in Germany. It is entitled, *The huntyng & fyndyng out of the Romyshe fox, whiche more than seuen yeeres hath bene hyd among the bisshoppes of Englonde after that the Kynges hyghnes had commanded hym to be dryuen owt of hys realme.* This was printed at Basel in 1543 and elicited a reply from Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and so gave occasion to a number of other fugitive compositions.[1]

The word "Romish", whatever its origin, became fairly common,[2] and so did "Romanist",[3] both as early

[1] It was published under the name of "Wm. Wraghton". Turner went abroad in 1540, but returned on the accession of Edward. He was Dean of Wells from 1550 till his death in 1568, with an interval during the reign of Mary. I give the title from a copy in the library of my friend, Mr. Alfred H. Huth, at Fosbury Manor, Wilts. It is also in the British Museum and at Oxford. Other pamphlets are *The rescuynge of the Romishe Fox* (1545), and the *Huntynge of the Romyshe Wolfe* (c. 1554), both by Turner, and *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe* (1543), by John Bale.

[2] Dr. Murray has kindly given me access to his Dictionary slips, and I have added a few others. *The faule of the Romyshe Church* is an anonymous pamphlet, without place or name of printer, dated 1542. Cranmer uses the word, *Answer to Devon Rebels* (1549), P. S. ii. 167, 168, 170, and *Answer to Gardiner* (1551), ib. i. 305, where he speaks of transubstantiation as a "Romish or papistical doctrine". Ridley also uses it in his *Piteous Lamentation*, p. 66, and in Elizabeth's reign it was more frequent. Parker uses it in his joint letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1559 (*Corresp.*, P. S. p. 88) [and in his letter to the Marian Bishops, 1560 (Strype's *Parker*, pp. 67–8)].

[3] Dr. Murray's first instance of "Romanist" is 1547, and he

as the reign of Henry VIII. The word "Romanensis", however, did not become common, at least in the sixteenth century.[1] But as regards meaning I can see no difference of any one of the three from another, except that "Romanensis" and "Romish" are readily applied to things as well as persons, whereas "Romanist" more naturally is applied to persons.

Without professing to trace the exact process of Archbishop Parker's mind in choosing the word "Romanensium" we can readily see that it was very natural that such a word should be selected at this period of the Reformation. During the first ten years or so of the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was a considerable hope of uniting Churchmen of all parties into one national body. Up to the time of her excommunication in 1570 this was in some measure actually fulfilled, and she herself and her most loyal counsellors desired that peace should be promoted by abstinence from invidious and insulting

cites also T. Norton's tr. of Calvin's *Inst.*, iv. 19, § 15, p. 721 (1561): "Tho Romanists and schoolmen doe here very carefully travel in finding out a sacrament." Here the Latin is "Romanenses autem et Scholastici . . . anxie in reperiendo hoc sacramento [sc. Poenitentiae] desudant." This shows that "Romanist" was considered equivalent to "Romanensis". Calvin's *Institutes* were first published in 1536, and secondly in 1559. [Parker uses "Romanist" in the letter of 1560.]

[1] "Romanensis" is frequently used by Bishop William Forbes in his *Considerationes modestae*. It is rendered "Romanist" in the version added by G. H. Forbes to the A. C. L. edition (1850–6).

words. In her first Parliament, Lord Keeper Bacon stated, on her authority, "that no party language was to be kept up in her kingdom, that the names of heretic, schismatic, papist, and the like were to be laid aside and forgotten"; and in her *Injunctions* of 1559, no. 50, "these convitious words" with the addition of "sacramentary or any such like words of reproach" were ordered to be forborne (Hardwick, l. c., p. 117). Parker, being himself by nature cautious, was exactly one of her counsellors who would gladly follow this advice. He shows a similar care in choosing words to describe the opposite party in his Lives of his predecessors Cranmer and Pole—the one most often used being "pontificii". He meant, I believe, here the Roman doctrine upheld by the favourers of the Pope, whether on the continent or in England, that which they would have called "the Catholic doctrine", but to which he and all good Anglicans, then as now, refused this appellation which belongs to the whole Church and not to one section of it. I may remark (on the authority of Dr. Murray) that the word "Roman Catholic" seems to have been a step in the same direction of softening controversial language, being introduced for that purpose in the reign of James I. It was, I believe, gladly accepted at the time by those to whom it was applied.

8. Any reference to Schoolmen was out of date in 1563. The matter was now one of rival Confessions of faith.

As regards the substitution of the word "Romish" in the place of a reference to the "School-authors" or "Schoolmen", it is easy to conjecture what the reason was. Such a reference was out of date in 1563. At that date very few persons troubled themselves about the teaching of mediaeval philosophy, except on such questions as Grace, Predestination, and Free-will (cp. Art. XIII). In regard to almost all debatable questions appeal was made to rival Confessions of faith and to official definitions of doctrine. Such on the Protestant side were the *Confession of Augsburg* of 1530, the *Apology of the Confession* of 1531, Melanchthon's book of *Loci theologici* of 1535—which being dedicated to Henry VIII was well known in England—and Luther's *Smalcaldic Articles* of 1537. Besides the various Confessions issued by the Calvinist or Reformed bodies, Calvin's own *Institutes*, published in 1536, gave form and body to that side of theological opinion. On the Roman side the Council of Trent, with the aid of anathemas, had given substance to the most important of mediaeval additions to the faith. The struggle was no longer between different schools of thought but between organized and antagonistic theologies. It is, indeed, more remarkable that a reference to the Schoolmen on the subjects of our Article should have still been thought advisable

in 1553, than that it should have been given up in 1563.

This explanation applies to all the subjects of the Article before us. For it needed no spirit of prophecy to anticipate the decrees of the twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent.

9. Archdeacon Hardwick (*Articles*, pp. 84, 130, 389, ed. 1859) interprets "Romish" as equivalent to Tridentine. Mr. Darwell Stone mistakenly implies the contrary (*Invocation of Saints*, pp. 37–9).

The answer offered to the question discussed in the preceding section leads us naturally to a consideration of the relation of this Article to the Council of Trent which was still sitting when the book of Articles was published. I have already touched briefly upon this point in section 4, and I will begin with summoning Archdeacon Hardwick as a witness on this matter in opposition to Mr. Darwell Stone, who, strange to say, summons him on the other side.

Hardwick, whose book is justly regarded as a work of much authority, and a very accurate and temperate statement of facts, has already been quoted as explaining the words "Romanensium" and "Romish" as used to designate "the extreme mediaeval party" (see beginning of section 7). It is quite clear that by this phrase he means to describe the party which was successful in directing the deliberations of the Council of Trent and in framing its decrees. On the top of this very p. 389, on which he speaks of "the

extreme mediaeval party", he defines the object of the Twenty-second Article as "to condemn Scholastic and Tridentine errors". He there refers to two other passages of his book in which he makes his meaning yet clearer. On p. 84, note 1, he says, in reference to this Article: "This phrase ['the doctrine of the Schoolmen'] was exchanged in the Articles of 1563 for 'the *Romish* doctrine'; the Council of Trent having in the meanwhile spoken out distinctly, and adopted as portions of the Christian faith a number of opinions which had been long floating in the Church at large and advocated by scholastics." He further calls attention to the interest with which the proceedings at Trent were watched, especially in the eventful year 1551. On p. 130 he has a sentence to the same effect: "Certain dogmas which had been denounced . . . as fictions of some *schoolmen* are significantly described in 1563 as the 'doctrina Romanensium', the Tridentine doctors having then made further progress in the building and consolidation of the neo-Romish system."

It seems therefore clear that Mr. Darwell Stone, whose *Church Quarterly* article on the Invocation of Saints has been republished in book form (1903), and is the most scholar-like statement known to me of the position here criticized, has fallen into a serious error in regard to Hardwick's opinion. [I thought it possible that he had quoted] Hardwick second-hand, as those who write articles for Reviews are sometimes tempted to do; [and that] if he had read the page from which

he quotes he could hardly have written as he does. [It seems, however, that he did so with his eyes open.]

Mr. Stone, as I have implied, is an advocate for the permissibility in the Church of England of a limited invocation of the departed. It is therefore important for him to show that the word *Romanensis* or *Romish* does not coincide with *Tridentine*. In order to prove this he argues as follows (l. c., pp. 37–9). After noticing the change made in 1563, and asking what its meaning is, he continues:—

"The statement of Bishop Harold Browne, that to know what this is 'we must consult the decrees of the Council of Trent', may be set aside by simply observing that the Article with this phrase in it was subscribed by the Upper House of Convocation on January 29, 1563, and the Lower House of Convocation in February, 1563; while the Session of the Council of Trent in which this subject was discussed did not take place till December, 1563. Since the Article was altered so as not to express condemnation of the teaching of the Schoolmen, and could not because of its date have been written or accepted with the decree of the Council of Trent in view, what was the idea which the phrase 'Romish doctrine' ('doctrina Romanensium') was intended to convey? The term 'Romanenses', Archdeacon Hardwick pointed out, was already in use 'to designate the extreme mediaeval party'. The change implied, wrote Dean Plumptre, that the condemnation was directed

'against the popular current teaching of the Romish theologians of the time'. Romish doctrine, say Dr. Maclear and Mr. Williams, was 'an expression used in the sixteenth century to denote the [teaching of the] extreme mediaeval party in the Church'. These statements of moderate and thoughtful men indicate what we believe to be the true meaning of the phrase. The Article, in our judgement, was intended to condemn the practices which had already been condemned in 1537 and 1543 by the 'Bishops' Book' and the 'King's Book', and to leave open the right or the wrong of the limited practice of asking the saints for the help of their prayers, which those books had allowed."

I shall deal with Mr. Stone's main argument in a moment, but any one who recollects the Trent decree *de sacrificio missae*, [to which he has made no reference], will see that he dismisses Bishop Harold Browne's statement (in which he follows Beveridge) far too summarily. Probably the Bishop agreed with Hardwick as to the other points also, and thought (as I do) that the Council merely voiced the current Roman doctrine on all the matters referred to in our Article. I need not repeat the proof that Hardwick is against Mr. Stone as to the equivalence of "Romish" and "Tridentine". Dr. Maclear and Mr. Williams, in their useful *Introduction*, merely re-echo Hardwick, while their positive conclusion, as to what is permissible, differs largely from Mr. Stone's. Thus they write: "To request the intercession of the

Saints is too like the way in which we address Almighty God to be really safe, and trenches dangerously on the office of the Great Intercessor" (p. 277). Dean Plumptre, also, in his *Spirits in prison* (pp. 307–8) clearly agrees, on the whole, with Hardwick. His words about the meaning of the Article refer, of course, to the doctrine of Purgatory, not to the cultus of the Saints; but they clearly state that the Article was "directed not so much against the formulated statements of Lombard or Aquinas, still less against the earlier teaching of the Greek and Latin Fathers, as against the popular current teaching of the Romish theologians of the time; and so far as the Tridentine decrees, with whatever reserves and limitations, embodied that teaching they come under that condemnation". As Mr. Stone quotes the whole of this passage in his note (p. 39), it is astonishing that he should have written as he has done in his text, where he ends his quotation with the words "theologians of the time". [His treatment of Dr. Hort, who has a theory of his own as to purgatory, but who distinctly rejects that of Trent, is also not a sound piece of argument. I must therefore] say that "these statements of moderate and thoughtful men" on which he relies are all opposed to his conclusion. But before dealing with his main position, it is right to consider what others have said on the same side before him.

10. Position of those who hold that a limited invocation does not contravene the Article. Sancta Clara (1646), J. H. Newman (*Tract* 90, 1841), Bishop A. P. Forbes (1857), and (Provost) T. I. Ball (1877) distinguish Romish from

primitive, &c., but take little or no account of the historical setting. Mr. Stone alone sees what ought to be proved.

The student who wishes to see what attempts had previously been made to find a foothold for Tridentine teaching in the formularies of the Church of England will naturally turn first to Dr. Christopher Davenport's *Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanae*, published first in 1646, who was known in this country under his name "in religion", as Franciscus a Sancta Clara, and as chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria. This writer, as is well known, studiously minimizes the points of difference between the Thirty-nine Articles and the authoritative teaching of the Roman West. In regard to this Article he says :—"These words are, without doubt, at first sight most difficult." He then goes on to emphasize the point that it is not the Invocation of Saints absolutely, or in itself, that is condemned, but *the Romish doctrine*", i. e. "not . . . what the Romans or Catholics . . . hold, but what is supposed to be their doctrine." He next proceeds to attribute to Dr. Andrewes the opinion "that our prayers are addressed to the Saints ultimately and absolutely, and offered, as it were, to so many deities—as he endeavours to show at length—not indeed from the agreement of the Doctors, but from the wording of some of the hymns. This, then, is the doctrine which is condemned in the Article as vain ; which we too abjure as impious". It is obvious that the word "doctrine" stands right in the way of this conclusion, which can only be justified

by the supposition of excessive ignorance on the part of the framers of the Article. It is indeed absurd to suppose that they did not know the difference between Romish doctrine and the abuses of Romish practice.

The same line is followed by J. H. Newman in his famous *Tract* 90 of the *Tracts for the Times*, published in 1841. He asserts that, as it is the *Romish* doctrine which is condemned, it cannot be the *Primitive* doctrine. He illustrates the Romish doctrine by long extracts from the Homilies *On Peril of Idolatry* and *On the Place and Time of Prayer* and *On Prayer*, as well as from Bishop Andrewes and Bellarmine. On p. 40, with excessive audacity he quotes the Article as on this point gaining "a witness and concurrence from the Council of Trent . . . Session 22"—that is the teaching *de sacrificio missae*, against which, among other expositions of Romish doctrine, according to all historical probability the Article was really directed.

Bishop A. P. Forbes, in his *Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles*, first published in 1867, is satisfied with stating in his general introduction to this Article "that the questions of Purgatory and Pardons were not discussed [at Trent] for many months after the publication of the Article" (pp. 302–3, 2nd ed., 1871). When he comes to Invocation he touches slightly on the excesses of the popular belief (pp. 379–81) and then treats at large of what he considers to be the teaching of the Early Church. [Provost] T. I. Ball's treatment of the difficulty is much shorter and adds nothing of moment to the previous discussions.

(*Orthodox Doctrine of the Church of England*, pp. 132 foll., ed. 1877). He begins by asserting that "*Romish* doctrine is not the same as *all* doctrine," just as a prohibition of *French* wines would not be a prohibition of *all* wines. He then contrasts the *Primitive* doctrine under each head with what he considers to be the *Roman* doctrine. These writers, therefore, follow one another without inquiring, as they ought to have done, what was the intention of the Article as illustrated by contemporary documents. No doubt Newman's citations from the *Homilies* are an attempt in this direction, but the attempt is neither critical nor exhaustive. I shall, therefore, in the succeeding discussion confine myself mainly to Mr. Stone's arguments.

11. Mr. Stone refers to the distinction of the Henrician Formularies, but ignores the general course of the history. The distinction between requests for prayer and requests for gifts was merely part of a transient compromise. Difference between the *Institution*, &c., of 1537, and the *Necessary doctrine*, &c., of 1543, as to the use of the word "Invocation". The English Church in 1563 was in conflict with the "Romish doctrine" expressed, e. g., by the "Confutatio pontificia", Gardiner's Articles of 1555 and the Council of Trent *De Sacrificio Missae*, c. 3, not merely with abuses in practice. The revision of 1571 was also long posterior to the Trent decree *De Invocatione* of December, 1563.

Of those who in our own day defend the Invocation of Saints, Mr. Stone is the only writer at this moment known to me (for I have not read Dr. Wirgman or Dr. Mortimer) [1] who sees what the point to be proved

[1] Since delivering this lecture I find that the germ of

really is. He sees that it is necessary to ascertain what the framers of the Article meant in condemning the "Romish doctrine", not to frame for ourselves a fanciful Romish doctrine and agree to reject that. I have already indicated in sections 3 and 9 what his line of argument is. He quotes interesting passages from the *Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), and from the *Necessary doctrine*, &c. (1543), which is a revision of the former book, and argues that the distinction contained in these passages was actually in the mind of the Bishops in 1563. "What was the idea (he asks, p. 38 foll.) which the phrase 'Romish doctrine' ('doctrina Romanensium') was intended to convey?" And again: "The Article, in our judge-

Mr. Stone's thesis is contained in J. H. Blunt's *Dictionary of, Doctrinal and Historical Theology*, s. v. *Invocation of Saints*, ed. 2, 1872. Mr. Stone himself expresses his debt to some letters of Mr. Leighton Pullan's in the *Guardian* of October 5 and November 9, 1898. I have also looked at Dr. A. T. Wirgman's *The Blessed Virgin and all the Company of Heaven*, published by Mowbray & Co., Oxford, 1905. He discusses the question raised in this lecture at some length on pp. 1-21 of his book, but the argument is not effective. I must, however, notice one extraordinary assertion. On p. 15, note 1, he refers to Latimer's words of 1533 as decisive as to the meaning of the language of the Article of 1563—giving no hint whatever as to the date of Latimer's utterance. It is difficult to characterize such a misuse of an authority in language which would be sufficiently strong and yet courteous. Dr. A. G. Mortimer treats Invocation in his *Catholic Faith and Practice*, part II, ch. xvi, pp. 393-410 (Longmans, 1898), but he makes no reference in that chapter to Article XXII. On p. 365, speaking of Purgatory, he simply asserts that the decree of Trent "was promulgated more than a year after our Articles were set forth", &c.

ment, was intended to condemn the practices which had already been condemned in 1537 and 1543 by the 'Bishops' Book' and the 'King's Book', and to leave open the right or wrong of the limited practice of asking the Saints for the help of their prayers, which those books had allowed." This definite use of the word "intended" binds him to an interpretation which seems to me wholly untenable in the light of history. Let us, however, consider what it is.

In the first of the important passages [1] quoted by Mr. Stone, men are forbidden "to make invocation to the Saints" for the "gifts of health of body, health of soul, forgiveness of sins, the gift of grace or life everlasting, and such other". For to do this (it is said) "yieldeth the glory of God to His creature, contrary to this commandment", i. e. the third commandment of the Decalogue. "Nevertheless, to pray to Saints to be intercessors with us and for us to our dear Lord for our suits which we make to Him, and for such things as we can obtain of none but of Him, *so that we make no invocation of them*, is lawful and allowed by the Catholic Church." The second passage is like the first except that, instead of the words "so that we make no invocation of them", are substituted the words "so that we esteem not or worship not them as givers of those gifts, but as intercessors for the same". Mr. Stone naturally lays stress on the peculiar use of "invocation" in the first passage, of such prayer as can be made to God alone, and,

[1] See *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 141 and 305-6, Oxford, 1825.

though he notices the change made in the second (p. 33), he does not seem to see the conclusion to be drawn from the alteration. It [looks as if some one, perhaps the King, had noticed the unusual character of the phrase] and had substituted another for it. This peculiar limit to the term "invocation" was, in fact, a transient usage, of which traces appear in some later English writers. But it was never accepted as the usual or established meaning of the word.[1]

There is, indeed, no evidence that this use of the term "invocation" was present to the minds of Archbishop Parker and his colleagues. The memory of that attempted compromise had surely faded from their minds under the stress of the momentous twenty years which had intervened. Gardiner's Articles in particular might, nay must, for personal reasons, have been in his thoughts as representing the Roman doctrine, and even more certainly the recent decree of the twenty-second session of Trent. It had grown clear to both sides that the point really at issue was whether it was or was not good and useful to invoke the Saints at all. Both those whose affec-

[1] I am rather inclined to think that the attempt to give a new meaning to "invocation" was suggested by the extremely frequent use of the words "invocare", "invocatio," of prayer to God, by Melanchthon in his *Loci Theologici*, which had appeared in 1535, shortly before the composition of Gropper's *Institutio* and the *Institution of a Christian Man*. Melanchthon rather frequently uses "vera invocatio" as a description of the service of God. But of course he does so in distinction to the "invocatio hominum mortuorum", which he rejects on much the same grounds as in his other writings.

tions and interests were bound up in the practices that surrounded the cultus, and those who detested them, could see quite clearly that if you conceded the main points that the Saints hear our prayers and can attend to them, and should be invoked, the whole of the practices would follow with little variation—though abuses here and there might be cut off. It was, I have no doubt, the judgement of the Church of England that it was not good and useful to pray to the Saints in any manner, and that this judgement was arrived at both in 1553 and in 1563.

If, however, the teachers here criticized still maintain that the intention in 1563 might have been the other way, we must remind them that the English Articles of 1571 are those to which we now give assent and subscribe. The revisers of that year clearly had before them the Trent decree *De Invocatione*. That was, at that date, the only "Romish doctrine" worthy of the name, and it must have been the doctrine repudiated in the Article, if words have any settled meaning. This Twenty-second Article was [revised in 1571]. Its [main assertion] could not have been retained unless the sense in both years was the same, and Parker, we must remember, presided at both Convocations. [Otherwise it would have been monstrously unfair to condemn "Romish doctrine" in 1571, without explaining that this did not mean the doctrine of Trent, but a popular superstition not taught by Trent.

12. Conclusion. The clergy, having assented to the Twenty-second Article, cannot teach the use of the "Ave Maria" and the "Ora pro nobis" or use Hymns invoking the Saints. General considerations as to assent to the Thirty-

nine Articles. Assent must at least bind us not to contradict the Articles in our teaching.

I have therefore no hesitation in drawing the conclusion that the clergy of our Church, having assented to the Article in question, cannot inculcate the use of the "Ave Maria" in its sixteenth-century form or the "Ora pro nobis" as used in the mediaeval Litanies or introduce any such invocation of Saints into hymns or other forms of worship. They cannot consistently assent to the proposition that such invocation is vain and futile and repugnant to the word of God and also teach that it is good and useful. This limitation at least of their freedom is surely inevitable. At the same time I quite admit that it has been the policy, and I would add the wisdom, of the Church of England not to press the meaning of assent much further than this, or to probe too closely the character of a man's inward convictions on disputed points of theology. We assent to a document drawn up in the midst of a period of controversy 350 years ago, and therefore sometimes using words and phrases which we should not ourselves have used. Though we acknowledge the moderation and circumspection of its definitions we might wish some of them altered, and I think that the clergy are at liberty to say so, provided they render practical obedience to the Articles and do not contravene them in their practical teaching.[1]

[1] This applies to the controversy about the Athanasian Creed. A majority of Bishops voted in the Convocation of Canterbury on

For the Articles are not articles of Faith like the Creeds, but articles of practical Religion. They might be altered without any unfaithfulness to the Creeds. We should be surprised if they were accepted *verbatim et literatim* by new national churches in China, Japan, or India. Probably other controversies and other spiritual needs would require to be met in those regions. Much less should we press their acceptance on older Christian bodies. But as long as the Articles remain unaltered we clergy of the Church of England are bound to defer to them in our own sphere so far as not to contradict them on any point of principle in our teaching.

Surely this practical abstinence from the teaching

May 10, 1905, for a resolution which asserted that the minatory clauses in the *Quicunque vult* "in their *prima facie* meaning and in the mind of many who hear them . . . convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants". This resolution has been criticized as in contravention of the Eighth Article (*Of the Three Creeds*) which declares that "Athanasius' Creed" and the other two "ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture". I thought then (as now) that the resolution would have been better without this assertion, but it surely only amounts to this that those who agreed to it would like to alter the wording of the Article. For they asserted in the same resolutions, both generally and specifically, their maintenance of the Catholic Faith as contained in the *Quicunque vult* and their assent to the doctrine of responsibility for faith which they believed to be the "Scriptural truth" which "the minatory clauses . . . were primarily intended to express". I wish that those who teach the Invocation of Saints went no farther than this in their contravention of the Twenty-second Article. Cf. Abp. Laud, *Conference with Fisher*, ch. ii, § 14.

referred to in the first section is not too much to ask from all our clergy. The theology of the subject confessedly deals with most mysterious questions. God has concealed from us any detailed knowledge of the life of the departed, even of our own dearest friends. We are practically cut off from them in a way which oftentimes much distresses us, but we can surely perceive that it is a wise Providence that has so limited us. Ought we not to acknowledge that the silence of Scripture on the whole of this question is also providential? And ought we not, in loyalty to the great principle of our Church, expressed in the Sixth Article of Religion, to refrain from teaching as matter of faith whatever is not contained in Scripture or can be proved thereby as to prayer to the departed? I grant that what is taught is not technically taught as "necessary to salvation"; but when pressed, as I fear it is, as a religious duty only second in importance to prayer to God, to be performed in regard to the Blessed Virgin once or more often in the day, and in regard to Saints whenever we feel some special need or on some special day—it is surely imposed as a means of salvation, though not absolutely as a necessary means.

I feel that in the discharge of my own duty I must earnestly entreat you, as members of this Society, to assist me in discouraging the revival now being attempted.

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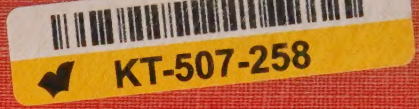
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